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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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CRISIS IN EAST BENGAL

Having deliberately withdrawn myself for the time being from active work in East Bengal for the purpose of preparing Gandhiji's biography, I have maintained silence over recent happenings in East Bengal and Calcutta. There are occasions when silence is the best service one can render. But silence may also give rise to misunderstanding.

One cannot blame the people for giving credence to rumours in the absence of authentic information. Whoever denies facilities for obtaining it takes a heavy responsibility. But the very magnitude of the crisis calls for the utmost restraint on our part. To allow our emotions to run away with our judgment would betray the height of irresponsibility, for which others might have to pay a heavy price.

Our first thought today should be about the victims of disturbances, whose fate hangs in the balance. The best help we can render is to be more than ever correct in our attitude towards the minority community in our midst. Indian citizenship is on trial. Indian Muslims are our nationals, and entitled to equal treatment with the rest. I know how deeply both our Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister feel on this. We should betray our Constitution if we fail to implement the guarantees that we have ourselves provided to our minorities.

What applies to Indian citizens applies with even greater force to the refugees from East Bengal. Let them think of their unfortunate brethren and sisters whom they have left behind, whose safety might be jeopardized if they give way to retaliation. Indian Muslims have done them no wrong. By taking the law into their own hands they would forfeit the sympathy to which their unmerited sufferings entitled them and handicap their Government in settling the issue with the Pakistan Government. May I, as one who regards himself as a sincere friend of Pakistan, having tried to serve its people in East Bengal for nearly two years, address the same advice to Pakistan too? I know of people in Eastern as well as Western Pakistan who must be feeling humiliation and anguish at what is taking place in East Bengal. How one wishes they could make their voice audible!

Only Three Courses

As things stand there are only three courses before us:

(1) To rehabilitate the victims of disturbances in their original homes — with full guarantee of safety. Numbers of them have come over to India, others have taken shelter in improvised camps in Pakistan, while still others are marooned in their villages. Where their homes have been forcibly seized they should be restored. Where they have been destroyed new ones must be provided, with compensation for the losses suffered. The miscreants must be brought to book as an earnest of proper treatment of the minority in future.

(2) Mass exodus under safe conduct of the minority community in East Bengal, with compensation by the Government of India for the losses suffered by them in East Bengal, and perhaps territorial readjustment to make it possible to accommodate them in India.

(3) Mass compulsory exchange of populations, with fair settlement at Government level of claims arising out of properties left behind by members of the minority community in either Dominion.

It is clear that it is altogether beyond the resources of the Indian Government to issue a general invitation for exodus with promise of compensation, unaccompanied by territorial readjustment. It would cripple it for years, and if attempted at the expense of the general taxpayer, might create a feeling against the minority community in India which would jeopardize the very basis of the secular State. That would be the worst reverse that India could suffer, and cannot be thought of.

The third course would only be the precursor of war between the two countries which would benefit neither; and, as Gandhiji used to warn us, might result in the loss of their new-won independence. It might even cause a world conflagration.

We are thus left only with the first course; and it should be clear as daylight that it will not help if we allow ourselves to be unhinged by the mood of the moment.

It is a pity that the Pakistan Government has turned down the proposal for a joint inquiry by India and Pakistan and a tour of the affected areas by the Prime Ministers together. Nothing would have helped more to restore confidence. Let us hope that the Pakistan Government will still reconsider its decision.

But whether that happens or not, and irrespective of what the two Governments may do, a heavy responsibility rests upon those who believe in the method of peace and abhor war, having realized from repeated experience that war settles nothing, and in itself constitutes an evil which is a concentration of all the evils it seeks to cure.

Peace-Workers' Opportunity

There are working in India and Pakistan people like the members of the Friends' Service Unit — convinced pacifists. I am sure that there are other men of faith among Europeans in India and Pakistan, like the late Metropolitan, whose humanity must be feeling the challenge of recent happenings. I know of others again who have come to the conclusion that, so far at least as this subcontinent is concerned, there is no salvation except through Gandhiji's method of non-violence. Then there is the International Red Cross Organization. Indian Muslims too might feel the call to render humanitarian service to their non-Muslim brethren in distress across the border.

It is up to all these groups to go to the affected areas to try to ascertain the true facts, and take hope and succour to the innocent victims. They must take no refusal at the hands of the Governments concerned to let them proceed with their mission. That would make them passive witnesses to the martyrdom of elementary humanity at the hands of unworthy ambitions and fanatical forces. Success will depend on putting truth and humanity above all, for peace gained by sacrificing them would be the peace of the grave which is a misnomer.

Four years ago Gandhiji, by his vicarious penance in Noakhali, Bihar, Calcutta and Delhi, helped us to rediscover truth and God for ourselves, and to re-enthrone them in our midst when for the time being they were eclipsed by man's inhumanity to man. His spirit will not fail us at this juncture if at least a select few rise equal to the occasion and have the faith to do and dare.

PYARELAL

"Gandhi and Marx"

I regret that owing to pressure of both time and space, I have not been able to give this week the fifth instalment of *Gandhi and Marx*.

Bombay, 2-3-'50 K. G. M.

SELECTED LETTERS

Second Series

(By M. K. Gandhi)

III

[A facsimile of this letter can be seen in Jan Baros's *Mahatma Gandhi*. — V. G. D.]

I am sorry for your loss which in reality is no loss, 'Death is but a sleep and a forgetting.' This is such a sweet sleep that the body has not to wake again, and the dead load of memory is thrown overboard. So far as I know, happily there is no meeting in the beyond as we have it today. When the isolated drops melt they share the majesty of the ocean to which they belong. In isolation they die but to meet the ocean again.

IV

[To a little girl who asked why we can not remember anything of our previous births.]

We cannot remember everything even of our present birth, and it is good that we forget most of it; otherwise we would go mad. We should learn the lesson that any event is capable of teaching us, and then forget it.

V

[Should the Ashram girls keep long hair or shave their heads clean?]

When you remove the hair, you save the time which would be devoted to dressing it, as well as the money which you would spend on combs, oils and what not; you kill the superstition that the 'glory' of a woman is her hair and your head is freer from dirt. A head shaved clean is the symbol of *brahmacharya* for women. If young girls as well as married women shaved their heads clean, a clean-shaven head would cease to be a sign of widow-hood as it is at present. And so on.

VI

[About a person who is reported to have eaten a live viper's head, nails, nitric acid and the like in the presence of a 'distinguished' audience.]

In my opinion they [such exhibitions] are degrading both for the demonstrator and also for the public. And if the demonstrator died, as he most likely would if these demonstrations were continued, those who encouraged him by attending them I should hold guilty of man slaughter. I do not think that either science or humanity is served by such revolting exhibitions. The textbooks on Hathayoga clearly lay down that Hathayogis are expected not to exhibit their yogic powers or make use of them for purposes of gain.

VII

[To a Sikh who asked him to grow hair and beard.]

I hold a totally different view from yours. Whatever value outward symbols had before, they do not and ought not to possess the superlative value that you seem to attach to the growing of hair and beard. For me I can see no reason whatever for departing from a long established practice which I have accepted for myself. I would far rather that people judged me by my deeds than by my outward appearance.

VIII

You ask me when I shall come so that we shall meet. If you made a proper use of your eyes, you would surely see me there, for my soul is there. It does not matter if my body is here or has even been reduced to ashes. It is quite possible that I may not be there in spirit although my body is there.

[IV, V, VIII translated from the Gujarati by V. G. D.]

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

II

Scope of Basic Education

We must now consider the size and nature of the social unit which Basic Education envisages and how it may be established. Let us keep in mind the values on which Basic Education is founded. These include responsibility, creative opportunity and community co-operation in various forms as the means of developing whole, self-reliant persons and a neighbouringly community confident of its unity and inward strength, through its power to ensure a large degree of self-sufficiency.

The social, economic and political aims of Basic Education include: (1) a community of limited size such that every person within it can embrace it in his mind and imagination and feel a communal relationship with all its members; (2) Small scale industries communally or co-operatively owned and co-operatively run; (3) where power machinery is used, new industrial technique will be required.

The organization of the economic and social life of these small communities would constitute the basis of their political life, which would be in the control of small councils, the title and constitution of which will differ according to the varying conditions in different countries. These small communities would achieve degrees of self-sufficiency according to their size and make up. In highly industrialized countries, small industrial units capable of supplying the needs of several or many villages, would no doubt be established, which would call for a measure of planning and thus for a regional economy. Even where this situation did not occur, there are many reasons why a regional economy would be advantageous. A group of villages around a small country town might become a cultural centre of great value to them all, and be the means of stimulating a varied artistic life of high quality. Indeed they might be the means of giving birth to a new creative era.

Another characteristic of these new social units is that by combining agriculture with a wide variety of handicrafts and several small-scale industries they would become well-integrated, whence they would create a sense of completeness. Also to belong to a community rich in the fruits of good husbandry, of numerous craft skills, of thought and imagination expressed in letter, painting, music, drama, dancing, etc., would be an acquisition of incalculable value.

These village communities would be of a wide variety of types and organizations. In general, those in the East would be simpler in character, and would achieve a much greater degree of self-sufficiency than those in the West, because of their different climatic and environmental conditions.

Many villages would be wholly built under our new conception, while others would be old villages reconstituted.

In the West, small scale power machinery would be introduced in many which would give them a distinct character. At the same time it should be stressed that homecrafts possess a remarkable power of personal and family integration.

The question of the highly centralized industries raises problems which cannot be dealt with in a document of this kind but since some 60 per cent of industry as organized in the West is capable of being decentralized, the problem of the remaining 40 per cent can safely be deferred for the present.

It is in such a setting that we must consider the teaching and practice of Basic Education or the art of living. This mode of education is basic because it is a way of life and not a creed, a process of developing inward strength by self-giving in contrast to the way of money making or profit planning. The former wins all because it gives all, whereas the latter loses all because it seeks to possess all. Self-giving opens hearts and hands everywhere, and so gains friends and unbounded spiritual treasure, whereas self-seeking grasps dead things only, and loses the pearls of greatest price.

How then are these new communities to be established? Obviously they can only be built by those who have the vision of them. For a long time to come, therefore, the extension of small community living on the lines of Basic Education must proceed independently of Governments, on voluntary lines, and prevail by reason of the abundant life which they bring within the reach of all.

On the other hand, as most reconstruction, regenerative work comes into conflict with tradition and various vested interests, opposition may occur which may be untruthful and cruel. Here will lie the real test for the worker in Basic Education: the test of soul force; the basis of which is humility, patience and unlimited faith in the possibility of spiritual miracles, which at root is the triumph of the good over the evil in human nature. The process of spiritual rebirth may be short or long; hence the need of patience. In general, however, self-giving is the most potent force which lies within man's power and on it the pioneers in basic living must rely to the utmost.

"Basic Education", said Gandhi, "extends from the moment a child is conceived to the moment of death."

HARIJAN

March 12 1950

ALL-INDIA UNITY

The Prime Minister's statement on the situation in East Pakistan is extremely disturbing to the soul. According to my simple understanding neither war nor exchange of populations is a remedy. Nor economic measures as such. Nor can the situation be witnessed with equanimity. Nor should a sense of helplessness be allowed to take possession of us. When darkness is intense and one thinks that he is unable to see anything, after a little waiting and a little straining of eyes one begins to perceive a little, which gradually reveals itself more distinctly. In the darkness of mind, the waiting has to be prayerful and the straining that of *tapasya.* Better and humane ways — those of truth, non-violence and love — *must* be there and it is our duty to seek them in the same spirit in which Gandhiji sought them. We must have the faith that the Great Spirit which guided him has not died with him, and It *must* guide us also, if we make ourselves receptive enough for Its light.

It seems to me that time has long come when we must think afresh and examine the very roots of our various assumed premises. Wise and discerning Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and others of both Bharat and Pakistan must realize

(1) that Bharat and Pakistan though politically two independent sovereign States, together constitute one 'All-India', and one fatherland of all the people living in either of the sub-countries ;

(2) that any war or killing between or within the two sub-countries, whether by the governments or as a result of an outbreak of religious fanaticism or goondaism among the people, — is a civil conflict — a conflict between different groups of the same nation. It should never take place and should never be allowed to spread ;

(3) that no State must be founded in the name of any particular class, creed, race or culture ; and the mere fact that the majority of the people in the one are Hindus and in the other Muslims cannot be allowed to permit either of them to develop into a State based on or dedicated to the culture, religion or principles of any one of them ;

(4) that the people of both the sub-countries, irrespective of their caste, creed etc., must remain equal citizens of and enjoy equal protection from their respective States ;

(5) that such conditions must prevail in both the sub-countries that a person of one sub-country might go to the other and move about there with the same feeling of mental ease and confidence with which he might do in another province or administrative unit of his own ;

(6) that the suggestion of exchange of populations or driving away the people of one sub-country into another must be renounced and condemned as inhuman, abominable and wanton barbarity ; so also, the depriving them of their property ;

(7) that acts of cruelty, arson, abduction, rape etc., and desecration of religious places of the one by another, in whichever sub-country perpetrated, must be regarded as unreservedly condemnable, and whoever encourages them must be held as no better than a felon ;

(8) that all the distinctions between Indians and Pakistanis must be obliterated and regarded as inconsequential and merely of administrative convenience, so far as the fundamental rights, liberties, political, social, religious and other movements and institutions of the people of either of the sub-countries are concerned ;

(9) that whatever might be the differences in the political set up and administrative systems of the two States, the people of the two States are one, their pleasures and hardships are common, and that the citizens of one sub-country may rightfully take as much interest in the affairs of the other, as he might in those of a different province of his own sub-country ;

(10) that the glorification of and assertion of an exclusive Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or other religious or communal culture, and allegiance to a religion in a manner which undermines the development of a sense of fundamental unity of the people of all-India must be discouraged and disowned.

(11) that problems can never be solved by war, murder, arson, deception and other violent means. These must be renounced absolutely, and search must be made for other means, even though it might involve running risks and making sacrifices in the beginning.

Nothing short of a radical change in our attitude and a searching examination at their very root of the religious and cultural tenets accepted by us as unquestionable will, I feel, show us the way to stop these barbarities in one sub-country or the other. In the name of religion, culture, race, ism etc., man has surrounded himself to Satan, and installed him in place of God in his heart. Mankind must be freed from clutches of Satan at all costs.

In the meanwhile it is the bounden duty of every citizen to help the Government of India in maintaining fullest communal peace and harmony inside Bharat. None may take the law

into his own hands. None may think that he is justified in molesting an Indian Muslim or desecrating a Muslim religious place either initially or as an answer to what might have been reported to have taken place in Pakistan against his co-religionists. Let him remember that any such act, besides endangering the safety of those still living in Pakistan, serves only as a sure method of promoting 'fifth column' mentality in Bharat. And in this connection, I cannot hide my dissatisfaction with the attitude of even some Congress leaders holding responsible positions.

At the same time, there is a grave duty falling upon Indian Muslims at this juncture. A statement here and there of individual leaders, even of such of them as were Muslim Leaguers in the past, supporting the Government of India, or condemning that of Pakistan, is hardly sufficient to meet the needs of the time. There are times when silence or inadequate expression creates misunderstanding. Muslim mass leaders and Muslim masses should rise to the occasion and give an unmistakable expression of their attitude towards the acts and policies of Pakistan, even as they might rightly express resentment for molestation of innocent members of their community by Hindus and others. All barbarities must be condemned whether perpetrated by Hindus or by Muslims, whether in Bharat or Pakistan, whether with the consent or connivance of the Government or otherwise by reactionaries.

While I address thus frankly to Muslims, let no Hindu cite this for taunting a Muslim. Let him remember that in these communal disturbances Hindus are not quite innocent sufferers or even mere retaliators, and have never been guilty of initiating the crime. So none may taunt another or enter into invidious comparisons. But let us all realize that unity and peace will come to all-India, when Hindus die for saving Muslims, and Muslims die for saving Hindus. This courage has to be cultivated by members of every community both in Bharat and Pakistan.

Bombay, 1-3-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

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COMMENCING ENGLISH

The reported decision of the Bombay Government to reintroduce English in Standard VII, with the probability of being carried down to standards V and VI as of old is an instance of inconsistent policies, which are responsible for wasteful expenditure and embarrassment to students, parents, school-authorities and teachers alike. When changes take place in a haphazard and ill-adjusted manner, those who view the changes unfavourably become suspicious of the motive behind them.

Gandhiji's was a very powerful and revolutionary personality and conceived of an original and bold method of pedagogy. He got it endorsed by the Congress. Unfortunately for orthodox educationists, it received high praise also from foreign educationists, including experts of U. S. A. The Congress Governments and urbanized Congress men in general found themselves in the unenviable position of having to accept it as a sort of State policy and always speak highly of it, while their personal training and bias rejected it in a great degree. This mental conflict betrays itself in policies, which very frequently deviate from the central principle.

Basic education demands that education must not be bifurcated for a period of at least 8 years if not more. It should mark the completion of a stage, after which majority of the students are not expected to take further training in regular teaching institutions. This means that whatever training is imparted to them must be fairly sufficient in itself, and that they should not be made to begin a study which will necessarily be too poor to be of practical use.

English is a subject of this type. One or two or three years' study of English is quite insufficient by itself; and it cannot be taught without prejudice to the teaching of craft, which is the centre of basic education. Hence it has become a controversial issue between two schools of educationists and nationalists.

If we examine this issue well, the whole thing boils down to finding room both for craft education and linguistic education. We are so placed or so developed that I do not know whether we are more language-mad, or more compelled to learn several languages under force of circumstances. The mother tongue, a provincial language (including Urdu), Hindi, Sanskrit, English all prefer their claims against us. Then, if the subject is a Muslim, Arabic has a special claim upon him. A South Indian language must not also be neglected by a good citizen. Now, either we have to stop somewhere, or devise a scheme which will provide for everything.

If we can persuade ourselves to extend the system of compulsory Basic education to 9 or 10 years instead of 7 or 8, it would not be impossible to give more languages than two (the mother tongue and Hindi) to every one. Nine or ten years' course of Basic education would not only equip the pupil with better knowledge of the

craft, and make the school more completely or better self-supporting than now, but would also make it possible to teach at least two of the following languages: English, Sanskrit, a modern Indian language (besides the mother tongue and Hindi). Science, mathematics etc., would also be better taught and grasped. Those whose capacity for languages is poor could have alternative branches of study. If along with this we can persuade ourselves to reduce the number of our scripts, the study of languages would become easier still.

Our present conservatism again and again throws us back into old and rejected grooves, with the result that we make no progress.

Controversies are good when they are aimed at finding truth. The present controversy about the place of English and the stage at which it should be introduced is not so. It serves only to create factions. There are two ways of resolving it. Either, as I have suggested above to extend the Basic education period to 9 or 10 years, or to make English compulsory for all, whatever the standard at which it is introduced. High and low castes in education should be definitely avoided as very harmful. If English must be taught before the end of the accepted basic period, it is far better that even basic school pupils are made to learn it than that they should carry the feeling that they belong to an inferior type of school. No doubt, the knowledge of English, which they will get may not be more than that of the English Primer and be perfectly useless; nevertheless it is better than the development of an inferiority complex. Really the whole Primary *cum* Secondary course should be treated as a full and indivisible unit; so that there is no abandonment of three hours' craft at any stage.

Bombay, 27-2-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

TRAINING CAMPS

Holding of camps and conferences has been getting popular among the constructive workers for some years. They play an important role in the promotion of constructive work and the propagation of its philosophy. Hence it will be useful to give a brief account of the experiences of the camps and conferences organized by us during the last two years:

In November, 1948, a camp was organized at Sevagram for all-India constructive workers to deliberate upon the various aspects of the new scheme and programme formulated by the A. I. S. A. This was followed by similar camps in several provinces. The discussions which took place in the camps brought home to them the importance of the *Charkha* as a matchless weapon to accomplish the social and economic revolution. They also realized that unless they order their personal life fully in tune with the aim and object of their mission, their propaganda and formulation of plans will be only superficial and will not achieve much progress. The camps also gave them the practical experience of organizing programmes of spinning, cleanliness and knowledge of dietetics. We also noticed some defects of our camps: One was lack of mixing with the people of the village; another of dependence on the central fund for expenses of food and other arrangements. This is inconsistent with the idea of organizing work entirely with the help of the villages without dependence on any other source for help. This is a point which deserves our serious consideration.

In November last at the conference of Khadi Tools (*saranjam*) Workers, there was a suggestion to hold an all-India meeting of members of Spinning Clubs. This led to the consideration of the above defects in the present manner of holding camps. It was then decided that villages should be made the venue of such camps, and that the delegates should not be all boarded and lodged together, but distributed among the villagers as guests. This will enable the delegates to mix with the members of the family of their respective hosts. Each delegate would carry out a programme of cleanliness of his surroundings and conduct a joint prayer. He would also explain to them the philosophy of constructive programme. The delegates would meet together only for deliberation upon the agenda of the conference.

It was decided to hold provincial conferences of Spinning Clubs on the above lines. The work done in various provinces was promising. The idea caught the imagination of the people, and was taken up with enthusiasm. The A.I.S.A now feels that organization of camps of this type only is not sufficient. The regular training camps of workers and trainees must also be organized in the same way and there should be a permanent machinery to guide and organize the camps in a disciplined manner. A separate autonomous committee has, therefore, been appointed for the purpose.

Under the scheme that has been formulated, there will be two types of camps: Ordinary and Special. An ordinary camp is meant for students, congressmen and others (barring members of Spinning Clubs) who wish to understand the philosophy of constructive programme. It may be of two types: One to last for three days and another for seven days. In the three-day camp instructions about the philosophy and ideology of constructive programme will be given. The seven-day camp will pay more attention to the training of whole life. The special camp, meant for constructive workers, will last for one week, two weeks or five weeks, depending upon the training to be imparted.

In a one-week camp training will be given for preparing a *charkha* from bamboo. It will also give the philosophy and training of life. In a two-week camp, we shall be able to give them education of philosophy of life and art of living life through various processes of collective spinning. At this stage, a five-week camp cannot

be organized in villages, and will have to be summoned in a regular institutional centre.

The programme of the camp will be something like this: a group will go one week in advance to the village which undertakes to invite the camp. It will train the village people in the matters of organizing camps, programmes of cleanliness, congregational prayer, the manner in which villagers should participate in the items of work etc. As far as possible, it will be our attempt to obtain invitation from villages where spinning clubs have been already organized, so that they might get the benefit of lasting results of the camp.

I invite constructive workers to think over and make suggestions on these matters.

Sevagram DHIRENDRA MAJUMDAR
President,
All-India Spinners' Association

(*From Hindi*)

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF SATYAGRAHA UNITS

[Mr. A. J. Muste's Draft Programme for Satyagraha Units has been referred to before. The following are pertinent extracts from it. — K. G. M.]

Aim

Our aim is the development throughout the world of a Non-violent Society. We believe that this can be achieved only by a Non-violent Revolution.

A Non-violent Society is one which realizes social justice and brotherhood. It is free from exploitation, which is always built on violence and leads to violence. In the nature of the case it must be based not on material, but on human and spiritual values or standards. It aims at the development and expression of human personality.

A Non-violent, Non-exploiting Social Order

The social order for which we strive has the following basic characteristics:

1. It will give first consideration to the development and expression of human personality and to the satisfaction of the natural and spiritual needs of human communities, rather than to the amassing of material goods or power.

2. It will aim at organizing men so far as possible in comparatively small and largely self-sufficient social units, widely spread out so that every one may be in daily contact with nature.

3. New industrial techniques will be sought to bring about decentralization in most industries, so that responsibility and creative opportunity may be enjoyed by all. For the same reason, the ownership of basic industries, mines, and workshops will be socialized and control will be vested in the workers and technicians directly concerned rather than in the hands of private monopoly or bureaucratic State machinery. The techniques of co-operation will be extensively used. The principle of equal pay for all socially necessary labour, with only such modifications as are socially determined, will prevail.

4. A reasonably balanced economy as between primary and secondary production will be sought for in every country, and trade will consist of exchanging surpluses of the commodities which communities, regions, or nations are unable to produce for themselves.

5. Political organization will largely develop naturally and organically in connection with the local and regional economy in every part of a country. It will in all cases be thoroughly democratic. There will, therefore, be no restrictions on liberty of speech, press, association and religion.

6. There will be no segregation or discrimination on racial, religious, or other lines.

7. The new social order will inculcate the conviction that persons are to be loyal first of all to the one human family, the world-community, and that other loyalties must be subjected to this. Sovereign nation-states, such as we know to-day, largely devoted to the waging of the power-struggle and to war, will cease to exist. Political, economic and cultural world-organizations such as may be needed will be developed with the needs of human beings, regardless of locality, race or nationality, in mind. We reject any concept of an *armed* world or super-state.

There are two fundamental and complimentary ways in which *satyagrahis* work for the new social order, the non-violent revolution. First, by "constructive work", i.e. by promoting at once, wherever possible, the organization of communities on a natural, co-operative basis for self-sufficiency and healthy inter-dependence, and by supporting and extending measures taken in our respective countries in this direction. Secondly, by resistance to the forces of exploitation, discrimination, oppression and war wherever we may encounter them. Co-operation with all healthy trends and forces, non-co-operation with evil, are the means for achieving that non-violent revolution which in Gandhi's words "is not a programme of 'seizure of power'. It is a programme of transformation of relationships ending in a peaceful transfer of power."

Non-violent revolutionists cannot put off until some moment in time when "the revolution" has taken place, the living of a life and the building of a society based on Truth and Non-violence. They must begin at once to revolutionize their own lives.

Commitments

More specifically, this involves the following commitments on our part:

1. A non-violent revolution changes external relationships and arrangements but it is primarily an inner revolution, a rebirth of man. We recognize, therefore, that first of all the inner life of each of us must conform more and more to Truth and Non-violence. Conscious of our unworthiness and weakness and of our need of inner

discipline, each of us pledges himself to continue or institute a plan for regular private meditation or prayer, and also wherever possible to establish disciplined cells for corporate meditation or prayer, study, and action.

2. We are pledged to the principle of non-attachment to possessions, especially those which involve control over the livelihood of others. This means simplifying our lives, reducing our personal needs, and recognizing our obligation to share our possessions if needed with each other and with our fellow human beings. In partial and symbolic fulfilment of our responsibility to be identified with our fellow-men we adopt the spinning wheel or some suitable equivalent means of performing a minimum of an hour of manual work daily.

3. We recognize that in our respective countries we must not stand aloof from the economic and political struggles of workers, farmers, and racial groups subjected to discrimination but must take part in these struggles, making clear that we are identified in spirit with the oppressed and underprivileged, and striving by teaching and example to win them to the practice of non-violence. We recognize that we are on very weak ground, both morally and practically, in criticizing the Communists or others who may resort to violent methods unless, on the one hand, we are known to give ourselves at least as heartily as they do to the struggle for social justice and, on the other hand, take the initiative in constant experimentation with non-violent methods for the waging of that struggle.

4. Each of us will work in his or her own country to bring about understanding and good relations first of all with the country regarded as its most dangerous enemy. We shall do all in our power to institute or greatly expand in each country the campaign to mobilize the will of the people to resist war and to bring influence to bear upon the government to abandon war unconditionally, and to dismantle its military establishment as rapidly as possible. In other words, we shall not only support action for universal disarmament and the establishment of world organization, but each will work for unilateral disarmament of his own nation, which would thus withdraw from the armaments race and start a disarmament race.

5. As it is the moral responsibility of each nation to renounce war and violence, even if others are not yet prepared to follow, so we recognize that it is our individual responsibility to do so, even though others may not be ready to take the same step. Our first loyalty is not to our national state or any other limited grouping but to the one human family or world-community. We declare ourselves, therefore, to be World Citizens, confident that in this way we can best serve the true and legitimate interests of our respective nations or peoples, but fully prepared to be deprived of or renounce our status as citizens in any national state if that should be required in order to maintain our supreme loyalty to the world community.

We pledge ourselves, furthermore, to refuse to bear arms under any circumstances, to render any service in the armed forces of any nation, to submit to military training or assist in enforcing it on others, or to work on the production or distribution of war materials.

The need of effective and total resistance to war and conscription in the Atomic Age is so great and urgent that Civil Disobedience to these evils is for us not only legitimate but necessary and imperative. We are, therefore, pledged, as opportunity may be found and as individuals and groups may most effectively practise it in the situations in which they are placed, to engage in Civil Disobedience, such as refusal to register under any conscription law, to pay taxes for war purposes, fasting, and other measures.

6. Recognizing that those who renounce war and violence are under obligation to do their utmost to demonstrate the effectiveness of love and non-violence, we undertake to carry out non-violent actions in striving to overcome racial segregation, religious intolerance, and exploitation and oppression of individuals and groups in our respective countries. We declare ourselves ready also to serve in non-violent forces or "Peace Brigades", if necessary to resist aggression, under a government committed to non-violence. We recognize also our responsibility to find means for organizing non-co-operation or non-violent resistance in case of invasion or occupation where the government of our fellow-citizens is still wedded to armed force and violence.

7. We adopt the Gandhi Cap as the symbol of our fellowship. Without imposing its use as a requirement, we urge its wide adoption as a means by which *satyagrahis* may be readily identified wherever they are and as in itself a perpetual reminder to those who see us of the cause for which we stand.

"No one," Gandhi declared in *Harijan*, August 25, 1940, "need wait for anyone else in order to adopt a right course. Men generally hesitate to make a beginning if they feel that the objective cannot be had in entirety. Such an attitude of mind is in reality a bar to progress." And again, "There will never be an army of perfectly non-violent people. It will be formed of those who will honestly endeavour to observe non-violence."

A. J. MUSTE

(A copy of the entire text of this document may be obtained from Mr. A. J. Muste, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 21 Audubon Ave., New York 32. N. Y.)

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